OHNR: **OH-1983-02A** **DOI: 7 & 8 February 1983**

TRSID: **abcdefg** **DTR: 18 February 2016**

QCSID: **abcdefg** **Text Review: 27Sept 2016**

Text w/Tape:

INAME: **LAYTON, Edwin T., RADM, USN (Ret.)**

IPLACE: **Layton Residence, Carmel Beach, Carmel, California**

IVIEWER: **FARLEY, Robert D. (Bob)**

Farley: Today is 7 February 1983. Our interviewee: Rear Admiral Edwin T. Layton, U.S. Navy, retired. Admiral Layton graduated with the Class of 1924, and served in a variety of assignments—among which were three years in Japan in order to learn the Japanese language.

He later served as the CINCPAC Fleet Intelligence Officer for Admirals Richardson and Kimmel before Pearl Harbor; and Admirals Nimitz, Towers, Spruance, Radford, and Stump during and after World War II. Admiral Layton worked very closely with the U.S. Naval intelligence unit that is Station HYPO and FRUPAC in Hawaii. And was a personal friend of Commander Rochefort's.

The interview is taking place in Admiral Layton's residence on Carmel Beach, south of Carmel, California. Interviewer: Bob Farley. Admiral Layton desires that these eight tapes be classified FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

Layton: ((Admiral Layton is captured in mid-conversation before the interview formally begins, as follows:)) And I said, "The first (3-4G) in my memory went on about the same time that the five (2-3G) did. And if you had it, why didn't *we* (B% be able to read it? But we always picked those up and read them—but we didn't read one of them. And so, I don't think you did."

Farley: (B% Right.)

Layton: "I think you're putting this together that you're reading all this. And if you're reading, why didn't you send it out to CINCPAC? Which was OP-20-G's responsibility. One of those came to CINCPAC. So I think you're just making this up."

Farley: Oh, my. Sir, shall we get underway?

Layton: Yeah, here we go.

Farley: Admiral Layton, it's a delight. I've been wanting to meet you for forty years. ((Laughter heard.)) And it's a pleasure really to be sitting in your living room and talk to you.

Layton: (XB by Mr. Farley speaking.)

Farley: To start it off, could you bring me up to date from your late teenage days before you went into the Academy? And then we'll progress all the way…I'm primarily interested in your career because your career is intelligence. And take it from there, and then we'll go as far as you want to do today.

Layton: Well, I ((he pauses))…I graduated from high school having had only three years of high school, but with a four-year diploma. I took extra subjects so I could have an extra year to study for the Naval Academy. And when I passed my examination for the Naval Academy in 1920, then entered with the Class of 1924. Well, routine Academy. Nothing…I liked to do a lot of reading. And I liked history, but that was my only outside interest really. On graduation, I went to the new battleship *West Virginia.*

Farley: Sir, before we go on, do you mind if I interrupt you occasionally?

Layton Not at all.

Farley: When you were in the Academy, did they teach anything like communications intelligence? Or were there any courses related? Signals…?

Layton: No courses on intelligence. No courses on communications intelligence. Intelligence wasn't mentioned. The only mention of intelligence was by a professor in English, who—when we were covering the history of the Spanish-American War—said that the problem of the United States military…Naval authorities were: "Where was ((Spanish Admiral Pascual)) Cervera when he left Spain?" And he said no one knew until our Consul…I believe it was in Curacao. It might have been the Vice Consul. Somebody in Curacao cabled in that the Spanish Fleet had arrived in Curacao.

And this instructor was a [sic] outstanding character. Because he had only one eye, we called him "Cyclops." ((Laughter heard.)) I mean, he

was beloved by all the Midshipmen because he was a great raconteur. He (B% paused in this place) and at that moment…and said, "Young gentlemen, you will never remember Curacao. You'll never remember it except I'll tell you something. In Curacao, they make one of the finest liqueurs in all this world. ((Laughter heard.)) A final tribute to a good dinner." And we all remembered it. When we we went to the next port on a cruise, we all bought Curacao. That was the only mention of intelligence.

Farley: Alright, fine.

Layton: Intelligence was never mentioned and was not a part of the Naval Academy course. This was part of the neglect of intelligence over these period of years. It was not a part of the Post Graduate School course. It was not a part of the Naval War College course. The Naval War College taught courses that had a fixed set-up or scenario: "Under a certain time at a certain time, a certain report of so many cruisers/so many destroyers or so many battleships or something else were sighted on course so-and-so, speed so-and-so."

This was accepted as the God's Gospel. It wasn't changed. There was no such thing as being mistaken. No such thing as having two and three or four Navy cruisers, maybe destroyers, maybe battleships, maybe transports. And during the war, we found that these mistaken reports…Obviously under difficult conditions by aviators. But these mistaken reports had to be evaluated, but there was nothing like evaluating these things ever. There was no course in intelligence other than a correspondence course after you graduated—and this was not really intelligence.

Farley: Was that sponsored by the Navy?

Layton: Sponsored by the Navy. It was one that was a…You could take a correspondence course. And I took three or four of them, but they were ridiculous. They weren't intelligence. They were…

Farley: Just plain cryptograms, was it?

Layton: Oh, no. No, no—that's another thing. They're alright. No, these were courses in what they called "intelligence"—where you'd read so much of history and they'd ask you some questions. There was nothing about evaluation of information. There was nothing about checking the reliability or the suitability of the intelligence. There was nothing even said—the most important things like: when, where, and then how much?"

They didn't even tell you that there was a Civil War general…cavalry

general, Nathan Bedford Forrest, who gave an indirect definition of good intelligence. They asked him how he had been so successful during the War between the States and what won all his battles? He said, "I aims to get thar furstest with the mostest." ((Layton laughs.))

Farley: "With the mostest," right. ((He chuckles.))

Layton: Well, that was the answer**:** how many, where, and when.

Farley: That's right.

Layton: But nobody even took that apart to say, "Here's a definition…" So…

Farley: Okay. Sir, after graduation, you went on board the *West Virginia*?

Layton: Mm hmm.

Farley: As an exec? What type of position?

Layton: I was in an anti-aircraft battery.

Farley: I see.

Layton: Three-inch anti-aircraft battery. Four of them total for a battleship.

Farley: (B% My gosh.)

Layton: They (B% had OR were) to be replaced later, but I knew an anti-aircraft gun was then under development. And they were eventually, but not while I was there.

Farley: Right. Did you receive any intelligence onboard the *West Virginia* at all, other than the…what we call…used to call collateral intelligence?

Layton: No…

Farley: Okay.

Layton: None whatsoever.

Farley: Was it from this ship that you did your escort duty with the Japanese midshipmen?

Layton: Yes. When the *West Virginia* and the *Colorado,* our two newest—plus, I

think it was the *Tennessee* or the *Maryland*—were ordered to San Francisco to act as host ships for the Japanese midshipmen training squadron in January 1925. That's where I did escort duty with the young Japanese. And that's where I realized that the Navy needed some Japanese speakers. And not knowing I was walking in intelligence the back door, I volunteered to take a course of instruction in Japanese.

Farley: Okay. You want to tell me a little about that? Or is there…? ((A pause here.)) Okay. Well, let's go on to the next one.

Layton: There's not much…I did…In Japan, you have to go to…out in the country away from Tokyo during your course of instruction after you have learned to do simple translations, so as to get away from the English speaking people that are surrounding you in Tokyo.

So I picked out on the recommendation of an Army officer, General Twitty—who was then Lieutenant Twitty, a language student—a (B% neat) place in Beppu, which was a recreation port for the Japanese fleet. And I knew they came in there from time to time.

So I would get to look at them. I was not spying. I just took walks down there where they were moored. Looked them over. Saw their people and saw their sailors and saw their officers ashore. Talked to them if they talked to me. But I didn't try to do any spying because they would have been not enthusiastic about that. ((He chuckles.))

Farley: Yeah. Did you stand out primarily because you were a "round eyes," they call them?

Layton: Yeah, always.

Farley: Ah huh.

Layton: And, of course, I had my usual…I usually had my usual "shadow. "He was there all the time. Even when I left the place to take a walk, he'd go in and go through my desk and read my…

Farley: A shadow or…? What did you call him? Was he a house boy or…?

Layton: No, no, no. He was the counterespionage—the ken pei tai.

Farley: ((He laughs.)) Okay.

Layton: He claimed to (B% belong) with the Foreign Office, but he didn't. He

belonged with the metropolitan police in Tokyo, who were assigned to…They said they were "guarding" you. They were "looking out for you." They were seeing that "nothing happened to you." In fact, they were keeping track of everything you did and everything…

Farley: Probably the safest place on earth in Japan. ((He chuckles.))

Layton: No!

Farley: Not really? ((He laughs.))

Layton: No, if you started to get beaten up…as they beat up (B% Louie Leibinauer), a language officer. And he had his shadow. The shadow just stood back and let the Japanese beat the hell out of him. And he had 15 stitches taken in his face where they took off their (B% geta) wrong side, (1-G) whopped him in the face with it. Raked him with these wooden (B% geta OR gela).

Farley: Yeah. Sir, let me get back to the Navy again. Do you remember in the '20s when the Navy had intercept operators aboard commercial liners in the Pacific?

Layton: Knew nothing about it.

Farley: Nothing about that?

Layton: (B% Nothing.)

Farley: There was a time where at least two intercept operators would sail back and forth across the Pacific and…

Layton: Well, I knew they had mail clerks on board the old "President" line…No, the old (1-2G) line and the one that ran out of Seattle. I'm trying to remember…

Farley: Not the "President", no?

Layton: No, no, no. Which is (B% this line)?

Farley: (B% *Madison*? No? *Madison*?)

Layton: Oh, no, no. No, no, no, no.

Farley: No, I'm ((he chuckles))…I'm searching here.

Layton: They were in…They were a subsidiary of (1-2G) line. I…And I later knew

some people there. But on their…I used to take mail down there to deliver it to the U.S. mail clerk on board those for safe delivery from the Naval Attache's Office. And take the pouches down to deliver it. But I thought a couple of these guys were a little too smart just to be mail…U.S. Postal clerks.

Farley: Go ahead, Sir. I'm going to pick up now at the time in the summer of '29. You sailed to Japan aboard the *President Adams…*

Layton: (B% President Adams), (3-4B).

Farley: And met Joe Rochefort.

Layton: Yeah.

Farley: Could you talk about that, please, Sir. Your first impression, your initial impression.

Layton: Well, your first impression was that 1) you knew the rules which the BuNavigation ((U.S. Navy Bureau of Navigation)) which is now BuPers ((U.S. Navy Bureau of Personnel)) had told you about your assignment in Japan. That was: you had to be single. You had to have five years of sea service with a good record. And here was a man I was meeting. He had a wife and a child, and he was going out there. Then I stopped and thought for a minute.

And I had already heard about Joe Rochefort. I knew that in Fleet problems, he had been on the staff of one or two of the…either the Blue Fleet or the Black Fleet or whatever the other fleet was. And at the end of one of these problems…I think Dyer ((Thomas H. "Tommy" Dyer)) was on one flagship, but I think Rochefort was on the other.

That, at the end of this problem, they had been decrypting the other guy's messages during the course of the problem. At the end of the problem, each sent the other one's admiral—for their admiral—a message of congratulations in the other man's code. ((Mr. Farley laughs.)) Or the other man's cipher.

Farley: Yes. Oh, beautiful.

Layton: And I remember this had happened because Admiral Reeves had mentioned this at the critique held in Panama at one of these things. And I would say this was about 1927 or '(2)8. He had mentioned that the communication work had been good, "but the particular thing that had impressed me was that…the counterintelligence people who were there."

And he mentioned Rochefort by name then—because I think he was on Reeves's… temporarily on Reeves's staff; 'cause later, he served with Admiral Reeves—stating that they had broken the other man's code in each case; and had sent letters or messages at the end of the exercises from their admiral to the other admiral using the other admiral's code.

Farley: Mm hmm, great.

Layton: And so, I remembered that. So…So, ah, that's the reason he's here. He's here because he's special.

Farley: This is the first time you met Rochefort?

Layton: Yes…

Farley: I see.

Layton: Personally.

Farley: Okay. But you had heard of him in the intelligence business?

Layton: Oh, yes. Well, I wasn't in the intelligence business. I heard it in connection with the intelligence business.

Farley: Oh, I see.

Layton: I was very impressed with him as a…well, a "easy-to-meet, easy-to-get-on-with" person. His wife was exceptionally charming and lovely. I was a bachelor. And they accepted me immediately aboard ship as being one of their group, along with their son. And we had a very enjoyable trip out.

Farley: Was there any evidence then that he was a little unusual? And I don't want to put the word "eccentric"…

Layton: No.

Farley: Was he out of the ordinary?

Layton: Never. That's been…It's been exaggerated by too many people. He had a lot of patience. But when his patience was worn thin by a fool or an ignorant ass, then he wouldn't have any more to do with them, you see. (2-3G): "Can't deal with you. Can't treat with you." He didn't suffer fools lightly, let us say that.

Farley: Good.

Layton: That few of us should.

Farley: Quite impatient with that type, huh?

Layton: No, he had patience. He had patience. He'd hear them through. I think Jasper Holmes' story illustrates this is, in where…when Jasper was sent for by his then commanding officer before Pearl Harbor over some position. And Jasper had given the right position. And he started to want to tear out Jasper. And Joe said, "Never mind. I'll go up there."

He took the papers up to the…I think it was the operations officer. Doesn't matter. And defended Jasper and showed how *they* up there had made the wrong plot. They had plotted *east* longitude instead of *west* longitude.

Farley: Ah huh, mm hmm.

Layton: And he had no more trouble with that guy, although the guy was senior to him. But he wasn't eccentric at all. And this has been overdone about the bedroom slippers and the red smoking jacket. Christ, when you're in working like the way we were working at that time and getting so very little sleep, the only thing they could do was be as comfortable as they could under the circumstances. I wish they *all* had red smoking jackets and…

Farley: Yeah, that's right. Well, some of these writers try to over-dramatize this (B% thing).

Layton: They all do. (B% I'd say that's their)…

Farley: Ridiculous. Sir, you and Lieutenant Rochefort arrived in Japan to begin your three years' (4-5B)…

Layton: Yeah, we arrived in Kobe. And so, we had to go up to Tokyo then. The ship went to Kobe. We had to get reservations on our own to get up there on the train. And we got reservations. And as a matter of fact, Joe said he'd make one for me if I wanted to. And I said, "Oh, yes." So we got seats in the parlor car on the express that went up from Kobe to Tokyo.

And as we went up and went by Ise Bay, there was the Japanese fleet all at anchor. They had been having maneuvers. So this was…I thought at the time this was fortuitous and wondered if it had been planned that way. ((He chuckles.)) Of course, it hadn't. But that was our introduction to Japan.

Then we got to Japan. And the assistant Naval attaché, (B% McCollum OR McCallum), took us around to try to find places to live. We had to go stay at the Imperial Hotel, of course—which was expensive. And I went around with them while they were looking for a place to live, thinking I might find something. Well, there's no such thing.

We finally ended up at the only apartment house…the only new, modern apartment house in Tokyo, the Bunka Apartments. And since there was a twin-bedded room with kitchen and dining room up there, the Rocheforts signed up for that. And he gave me the best advice then I'd ever had in my life: Why go searching around for a Japanese house that doesn't even have a tub? You have to buy your own tub and have it connected. It doesn't even have a sink. The sink has to be bought because none of that was (1-2G). Everything has to be…It's just a bare shack, is what they are.

He says, "Why don't you take one of these rooms here?" And they had shown a single room to me. It didn't have a bath. It was just a single room—bath down the corridor. But since that's all they had, I took it. Besides, it had also steam heat. ((Chuckling heard.)) And it had an Otis elevator.

Farley: (B% Oh, my gosh.)

Layton: And it had—wonders of all things in Japan, which many, many thousands and millions didn't have—a telephone in the room.

Farley: That's amazing in that day and time.

Layton: In Japan…Well, in Japan, you had to buy your telephone.

Farley: Getting back to that here now. ((He chuckles.))

Layton: Well…

Farley: But that's another story, I'm sorry. ((He laughs.))

Layton: They're still doing it in Japan. You still buy your telephone.

Farley: Ah huh.

Layton: It's an investment 'cause they always go up in price. The last one I bought was in 19…((He pauses.)) Well, after I retired. It was 1960, I bought a telephone out there. And it was about thirteen thousand dollars. ((Pause here.)) That's right.

Farley: Amazing.

Layton: You see, they don't have enough telephones to go around. So it's like stocks and bonds: the more demand, so the price goes up. And so, the price keeps going up, you can sell them. Eventually, they put in a new trunk line, but they don't sell all the telephones at once. They only sell a few so as to keep the price up.

Farley: Amazing.

Layton: Well, I stayed at the apartment and…Oh, they'd have me in for, oh, a special dinner. We'd celebrate birthdays together. We'd celebrate little Joe's birthday—his son. When we went to be presented to the Emperor on New Year's Day, of course we went in accordance with rank: Navy together; the Army together; the State Department together.

And, of course, you entered a great, great big…It was at the palace, so it was a great big room—one of the biggest I've ever seen. The women wore trains that dragged on the ground for twelve feet behind them. And Faye, Joe's wife, said, "Eddie, I'll never speak to you again if you step on my train." ((Laughter heard.))

I says, "Don't worry, I won't step…But going (B% out), you have to face forward and back out. That train goes around you. Don't you stumble on it And keep telling me, 'Can we distance…?' If I'm getting too close, you say, "Hold it.' Just say "Hold it.'" She said, "I will." So…Well, that's the way it was.

Farley: I'll be darned.

Layton: But we…Then when…The time come to go to Karizawa, the mountain place where we went to study in the summer time 'cause it was too hot in Tokyo. It's very hot and humid. At that time, I was looking for a little *pied-a-terre* there. Ah, there's no such thing. All the houses were owned by foreign missionaries, who rent them at good prices. But, fortunately, they're furnished and…Very barely, but they're furnished. I couldn't find any. And everybody always…Language students always had two to a house, 'cause the houses were big. And to have one, you couldn't afford it—not on a junior lieutenant's salary, where you had to pay everything out there yourself any way.

So, finally, they said, "Well, we have lots of room. We have an extra room if you'd like to come and share it with us. But we do it on one condition. You are a member of the family. You'll take the same criticisms that families have among themselves. You follow the orders, and you will follow the instructions, and you will follow the routine." And I said, "That, I will do."

That was one of the most delightful summers I've ever had in all my life. We studied from early morning until late at night. But then, we'd always talk around, and sit around and discuss things. ((He chuckles.)) They had a cook. He was a man. And his wife was the maid of the house. The cleaning work (4-5G) so forth. And Faye said one day she was going to make an ice box cake. And she explained what she wanted. And he couldn't understand.

She said, "Yes, it cooks in the ice box." He said, "It can't cook in the ice box. It's cold." He says, "How…?" She (B% just said)…((Chuckling heard.)) So this was the big day of celebration when Faye made her ice box cake. And that cook never let it out of his sight 'cause he thought she was going to play a sleight-of-hand, and put in one that was cooked in there. ((Laughter heard.)) And he stood watch on it. Wouldn't let her get…Every time she opened it, he'd look and see that nothing went out. That was typical of our life.

Farley: That's wonderful.

Layton: So having been a member of their family, no…Unless you have been a member of somebody's family under conditions like this, you won't know how close our relationships personally were.

Farley: That's interesting. Sir, did you have diplomatic status…?

Layton: Yes…

Farley: Or were you protected at all?

Layton: We had diplomatic status at that time.

Farley: I see. Were you subordinate to the Naval Attaché?

Layton: Oh, yes.

Farley: I see. So…

Layton: Assigned to him.

Farley: I see.

Layton: He was the one you reported to. Then he turned you over to the assistant with words like this: "I don't know anything about this language, but Lieutenant (B% McCollum) here does. And so, you'll report to him. Oh, yes," he says, "don't come in this office unless you're sent for or you're in trouble. Oh, p.s., you get paid once a month. Don't bother us (2-3G) (B% ahead of time.)"

Farley: Did you get any extra subsistence at all?

Layton: No extra subsistence. The Government gave fifty dollars a month to the Naval Attaché's office to pay for your instructor—his charge. Or was it a hundred? I've forgotten. I think it was a hundred dollars a month they paid the instructor, which was the instructor's salary. And that wasn't enough for him really because he was the one that constructed the course. 'Cause even the Army now uses it, and the Army used it during World War II.

Matter of fact, at the end of my first six months, the military attaché was dissatisfied with the course of instruction his people had. And (B% Carlyle) Dusenberry of the Army had just joined at the same time I had out there, to take the course of instruction. So at the end of my six-months' examination, the Naval Attaché and the Army Attaché had a conference that the Army Attaché wanted to have regarding the course of instruction. And he said that he would like to have a comparative examination done. And they asked me if I would participate. And I said I would. You don't dare say "I won't." ((Chuckling heard.))

And so, they gave Carlyle Dusenberry the same examination I was given at the end of my six months. He had finished his six months about two weeks before I had. And he only got about a grade of 28 or 30. He had not studied any Japanese characters yet, and I had already finished 550. So he couldn't get any of these. He had not studied any compounds, obviously—if he hadn't known the characters—of which I had had, oh about a thousand compounds. So he flunked that completely. So it wasn't a very fair thing. So, then, they gave me an examination given by Dusenberry's instructor—the same examination he'd gotten at the end of his six months. And I got—I say modestly—a 4-0 ((spoken as "four-oh".)) And he had gotten, I think, a 3-8 ((spoken as three eight)) or something like that.

So the Army decided they would have to try this Navy system. So they took over Mr. Naganuma's course. But the agreement was written up between the Naval Attaché and the Army Attaché that the Navy would still have priority of Naganuma's time. In other words, we got the choice of the hours of instruction and the Army unfortunately…Then about a year later, the State Department heard about this. And so, they also signed up Mr. Naganuma.

So he was a very busy man. He had to take on some other assistant instructors that he had to instruct. He was also writing a textbook at the same time. So we did have a good course. Joe and I were the first ones that had the first printed pages of Mr. Naganuma's new textbook.

Farley: That's great. Sir, is there anything else about the three years in Japan you'd like to recall for the record?

Layton: Um ((he pauses))…

Farley: I know in your article on Admiral Kimmel, you touched…

Layton: I covered (B% that).

Farley: A few interesting items, right.

Layton: Well, that's about all.

Farley: Alright.

Layton: I could forget now. The time has gone by.

Farley: I know what you mean, Sir. ((He chuckles.))

Layton: Lots of interesting things, but they were all directed toward language most of them. I did have an instructor that I think I should mention. There was a Professor (B% Aragani). He's been dead these many years. But when I was down in Kyushu, when I was down in the Beppu under instruction, I got Mr. Aragani who was an old time philosopher. He also held a degree in Philosophy from Imperial University. And had read all the Chinese classics once. Had finished all the Japanese classics twice. And was now back rereading the Chinese classics.

Farley: Fabulous.

Layton: He used the salary he got…Which I paid him for his instruction. He didn't get the salary from Tokyo. He used this to provide light and paper and brush and ink, and so forth, and books to instruct the sons and daughters of fishermen who lived aboard the boats and went out fishing—and did not have an education.

Farley: Wonderful.

Layton: He was quite a man. It was he who in…speaking of history, said, "You must always remember that the Japanese have a deep sense of clan loyalty. And with that, goes a sense of sensitivity against being bad mouthed. A sensitivity against being ill- treated." And he said, "When…" I mean, "degraded." And he said, "When the Americans passed the Exclusion Act of 1924, they insulted Japan as a country—insulted we Japanese." He said, "They classed us with the Koreans. Argh! With the Chinese! Errr! With the Indonesians! Ooh! The Indians of India! Errr! And you made us the same as them. We will not ever forget this insult. And some day we will fight you to wipe it out."

Farley: That far back?

Layton: I forgot it over the course of years. And on the morning of Pearl Harbor, I remembered it. And I said out loud to myself, "Aragani san, you were right. I didn't listen hard enough."

Farley: Great.

Layton: He also said something else that impressed me very much. He said, "Learning a language…" he said, "Anyone can do that if they try." He said, "It's more important to learn people. Learn why they think the way they do. Learn why they react the way they do. Learn why they feel the way they do about various things." And he used this 1924 Exclusion Act as one thing that I should study and understand.

Farley: Mm hmm.

Layton: Well, he was quite right. So I applied myself then to try to look into the whys and wherefores. You'll have to excuse me (2-3G) turn it off here.

Farley: Sure.

Layton: I have ah…((TR NOTE: Audio stops. When it resumes, Mr. Farley is speaking as follows:))

Farley: Sir, after your three years in the language training in Tokyo, what happened?

Layton: I was to go home. But at that time, the Japanese legation guard in Peking had been acting up. Moving out their forces without notifying anyone within the legation administration—as was required by the Boxer Protocol. And trying to start a fight so that they could intervene against the Chinese attacking them, and take over the city of Peking.

We knew it was their plan. And so, the American Minister in Peking, Mr. Nelson T. Johnson—an old Chinese hand…old China hand—asked the Secretary of State to have a Japanese linguist with military background sent over there for temporary assignment…or permanent assignment to try to stall off this attack on Peking. ((He coughs and clears his throat.))

Farley: You okay, Sir?

Layton: Yeah. Since they didn't have a Marine available at that time and the Army had no one to offer at that time—I don't know why—they asked the Navy. And the Navy said they had me out in Tokyo. I had just finished and I could be available for temporary duty. So my orders were modified to proceed immediately to Peking, China and report as the Assistant Naval Attaché—the first Assistant Naval Attaché they'd ever had there. And I was furthermore authorized commercial transportation. ((He chuckles.))

Farley: Wonderful. ((He chuckles.))

Layton: And so, I went over on the *Choko Maru* of the old *Sakasho* sen kaisha. Mr. Nelson T. Johnson explained to me what the problem was, and that they had a tie-in with Chinese intelligence. This was really my first intelligence awakening: that the Chinese had a [sic] agent within the Japanese legation who would tell them Chinese intelligence: when Colonel Ihara and his legation guard were going to march out.

And they would march out with all weapons, even dragging telephone lines. And there, they would go through a section of the Chinese part of Peking where they had agents provocateur set in there to start something. Their favorite was to, of course, shoot at them. Their second favorite was to throw night soil…Which you know what night soil is?

Farley: Yes, right.

Layton: In their gaboons and buckets down on the Japanese soldiers, who would naturally want to react to that. The Chinese intelligence was so good in this that they then called on the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps, which was the police of Peking who were very efficient, very good. They would go out and just clear out every single man, woman, child, dog, cat—anything that's in that area. That, that was evacuated.

And then they'd put in about four hundred police to see to it nobody came in to start something. Result was Ihara and his guard marched out before and had to march back again because nobody shot at them, no one threw any night soil on them, and no one cussed at them. And he told me this was the problem, but there was always a chance of something coming up. And that I was to go and establish direct liaison as representative of the senior minister there, which was Nelson T. Johnson, and also representative of the senior guard commander, which was Colonel (B% Gillick) , the U.S. Marine in charge of the legation guard there.

And as personal representative of both of them, to tell Colonel Ihara he was to notify me in accordance with the protocol when he was going to march out—and follow the rules as set forth and agreed to in 1908, 1910. And that furthermore, I spoke Japanese and I'd be available on the telephone 24 hours a day to him. And I would not leave Peking unless I so told him. And that he was to sign a letter saying he'd received his instructions.

He didn't want to do this. But since I spoke Japanese, I told him, "Didn't he believe in the law, that Japan tells us about, that they did everything according to law?" He said, "Yes." And I said, "Well, you don't mind signing that letter then." "Oh, I don't want to sign the letter." "Well, this is the diplomatic courtesies, of which I think you being here should understand." He finally did.

He didn't tell us when they marched out. But I learned after my liaison with the Chinese intelligence when they're marching out. And I was down at the gate to greet him. And I would always shout at him in a loud language, that I was sure his troops would all hear since they had to be halted at the gate when I went out there. I said, "I thought you promised me that you would notify this in accordance with the rules. And here, you're marching out without doing it. Oh, you are not sincere, Colonel Ihara."

Now to tell a man in Japanese he's not sincere is what they call about the Chinese all the time at them: "You're not sincere. Your sincerity is open to question. On behalf of the American Government, I tell you now that we don't like people who are not sincere—just as you Japanese don't like people who…You call the Chinese insincere. Are you being like a Chinese?" So his people would all hear it. I don't say that stopped them, but they didn't do it again while I was there. ((Chuckling heard.)) I stayed on until February, when Colonel Monahan—Jerry Monahan of the Marine Corps, a former language student of Japanese—arrived to take over the job.

Farley: What year was this, Sir?

Layton: 1933.

Farley: Good.

Layton: This happened in '32 /'33. I was relieved in J…I got there in October '33 and left in February of '30…No! I got there October '32, and left there in October '33. And went back to ONI ((Office of Naval Intelligence)).

Farley: Okay. Sir, did the attaché have any access--and again I'm pushing it—communications intelligence yet, or was it too early?

Layton: The attaché had no access at all. When these things are getting hot…And the Chinese reported that there was a concentration of Japanese vessels at Taku Bar. They were saying they would now bring reinforcements and take over Taku and Tientsin, as well as Ihara taking over Peking. A very strange thing happened, as the man said, "on the way to the forum." ((Chuckling heard.)) A Marine came in the Naval attaché's office where I was, and he said, "Are you Lieutenant Layton?" And I said, "Yes." He said, "I have a message for you." I said, "Oh?"

And there was a Naval message blank, typed. Said, "It is desired that you contact Staff Sergeant Whatever-his-name-was, whom this Marine will lead you to." I said, "Do you want to go now?" He said, "Yes." This was about 10:30 in the morning. So we went out the outside of the Marine compound. Now, you see, you're not within the legation. You're not within the compound. But just outside was what I would call a shack. But it had tar paper on top, but it looked dry. And it was...That day, it was raining. And I went in there. And that was the Marine Detachment, Peking, Attached Radio Intercept Unit…Supplementary Radio (B% Intercept) (1-2B).

Farley: Very interesting, very interesting.

Layton: And he said…This staff sergeant said, "We've been authorized to call you in. If you don't want to do this, just say you don't." And I said, "No, I'll (B% do…lend a hand)." He didn't tell me what they did. He said, "We have some Japanese messages we'd like to have you look at." And there were plain language intercepts plus code intercepts which I 'd never seen before. And he had to instruct me that certain of these abbreviations meant certain things. Well, I'd never been taught that. Of course, you couldn't be.

And he gave me a 15- or 20-minute lesson on these various (B% abbreviations). Like…Well, how you read these things. They were Kana typewriters, you see. I'd never seen one of these before. And so, I had a good half an hour instruction. The next thing he said, "See if you can get any sense out of these." (4-5G) abbreviations that I'd never had. So he gave me another 15 or 20 minutes of instruction on these abbreviations. Like "sati": S-A-T-I. Of course, "t-i" stood for c-h-i—and that stood for "chief of staff." Now I've forgotten…But they were…"Kancho" was "captain", of course.

Farley: The traffic was primarily military then?

Layton: Oh, this was naval traffic.

Farley: Oh, okay, alright, fine.

Layton: This was naval traffic that the Marines had. That was their job to intercept naval traffic. Just as it tells you in the air, it was the job of the x-ray unit in Shanghai—(B% or) the special naval landing force companies—to intercept U.S. Naval traffic. But since diplomatic traffic was carried also on the same circuit, they intercepted that, too.

Farley: Ah huh.

Layton: I think this is true of ours. I don't know, but…of the Marines. Anyway, I could tell them that…the names of the ships. I could get those 'cause, those days, the call signs were pretty simple fortunately. And fortunately, the staff sergeant was a real wise, smart guy. He took a dumb guy like me and made me wiser—or wisened me up in a short time. ((Chuckling heard.))

I could only tell him what the ships were apparently on the address here. And then he showed me how the slants in there would show which ones were being delivered by this, and this one was being delivered by another. And so forth. Radio procedure marks from headings. So, then, I worked there that day. I didn't even have lunch that day, it was so interesting. And I went there the first thing the next morning. And I think I worked there for about four or five days of that week until I came to the conclusion that there wasn't anything of vital information about this. Also, I could disprove—in my own opinion—that the ships addressed were not all concentrated in Taku. This is from the heading, (3-4G), that it was somewhere in (B% Peilin) Chefoo. No, Tsingtao and Weihaiwei was were…Weihaiwei. Some were Shanghai. And some were en route.

(XG; slurred and mumbled speech) by delivery. It was simple traffic analysis—well, he gave me my first lessons, which has intrigued me ever since. Then when Monahan came and relieved me, I didn't tell him anything about going to the Marine place at all because the staff sergeant said this was very secret. Matter of fact, that's not been in any other oral history. I've been to a lot of these things.

Farley: This is tremendous. This is the kind of information we like because we have trouble tracing the history—the background of a lot of these units that were so clandestine that so few people know about them.

Layton: You know you don't have any history of Guam in your list.

Farley: No, Sir.

Layton: Don't even know when it opened and when it closed. I know when it closed... ((TR NOTE: *ET 42:36, where digitized audio dramatically decreases in speed for approximately the next 18, 19 minutes.))

Farley: Alright, sir. We don't have anything on Guam really that compares what you said about this unit.

Layton: Guam was a good unit pre-war.

Farley: Yes.

Layton: And I'll get into that later.

Farley: Harold Joslin--I worked with him quite a while—was with that unit in '41, I guess?

Layton: Yeah.

Farley: '41.

Layton: Yeah, they closed them, I would say, about…I don't know whether it was October or November '41. But they closed it just in time.

Farley: Hmm. Got out some of the wives, I guess, and some of the dependents?

Layton: Oh, they had been ordered out a long time before. All the dependents in the Far East had been ordered out in, I think, about January of '41. That was one of the big fusses out there among the Far East (B% was) the Navy was ordered out and the Army wasn't.

Farley: Oh, yeah. Sir, is there any more on this Marine unit, or have we pretty well covered the…?

Layton: No, except that it was…I think I should go on it further.

Farley: Please.

Layton: I was so impressed with this Marine and impressed with what I didn't know and what I was supposed to know or should know—or it would be a good idea to know—that when I got back to Tokyo from Peking en route back to the United States…Hank Smith-Hutton was the Assistant Naval Attaché. And he said to me, "What…Did you get…Anything happen over there that was interesting?" And I said, "Yes. You ought to know this for your courses."

The Assistant Naval Attaché in Tokyo, as I had later, was in charge of all the instruction of languages—as McCollum was over me. And they have a certain amount of leeway in which they could press the course into a direction. I said to Smith-Hutton, I said, "You know, out there, I was called into a certain place. And there, they had some intercepted material…Japanese intercepted material by American people. And they wanted me to read it. They wanted me to be able to analyze it. And here, I'd had nothing about how these 'sati' and these abbreviations and these call signs and headings…"

"Now, we did have as instruction in Japanese on how to send a Japanese telegram in Japan. But that's quite different from the others. It's quite…It's (as) different as day and night—except that you knew that they had certain abbreviations in Japanese telegrams…commercial telegrams. I guess you should realize that there was also abbreviations in naval stuff, but they're quite different. I think the course should be designed such as you could get some of this without giving away (B% secrets). You want a piece that is absolutely not so secret."

Farley: Oh!

Layton: "Can't touch it." He says, "Furthermore, you shouldn't even talk to me without knowing whether I'm cleared or not." I said, "Oh, horse shit! ((Laugher heard.)) No one cleared me for anything. How do I have to ask you whether you're cleared or not? No one ever talked about being cleared. I came here to give you a report of my experiences so you could benefit by it. You say it's too secret. So, alright, we'll forget it. I won't say any more about it." So we got our secrecies all mixed up here—carried beyond any reasonable amount.

Farley: Great.

Layton: Particularly when it's carried in the newspapers and (B% Mr. Bergabi's) book which came out very shortly thereafter.

Farley: (B% Yep…)

Layton: That about does it.

Farley: Alright, Sir. After you left Japan, you came back to O…or you came to ONI?

Layton: Came to ONI. And ONI and OP-20 were having their recurrent fight. I reported into Zacharias ((Ellis M. Zacharias)) who was leaving. And he said that I was going to be assigned to OP-20-G.

Farley: Wasn't it (1-2B)…?

Layton No, no.

Farley: Alright, alright, alright.

Layton: It wasn't…No, no. It wasn't…No…It wasn't Zacharias either. I've forgotten.

Farley: Was it called OP-20-G then?

Layton: No, I don't…I don't know.

Farley: Or Communications something Supplementary Activity?

Layton: I think it was Communications Security Organization…

Farley: Supplementary Activity? Does that (B% mention)…?

Layton: No, no.

Farley: No? ((He chuckles.))

Layton: Well, anyways, we were going to go down to Communications, is what was the word. He says, "But they have been playing games with us. And so, you're not going to go there. We want you to work on a new project here which is the "bomb plot" project. And we want you to sit down and remember all the strategic locations of things you saw in Tokyo and everywhere else in Japan—whatever it is: hydroelectric things, and there were distribution and power, and choke points of roads," and all that stuff.

And so, I initiated that first plot ((he chuckles)), which the 20th Bomb Command was glad to have later on. But, hell, they didn't want individual pinpoint targets—they wanted area targets.

So, then, I took my professional examinations which were overdue for the grade of lieutenant. And then went to sea. And the ship I was on was the flagship of the Fleet, the *Pennsylvania.*

Farley: Sir, before we get on, I have a few more questions to ask about OP-20-G.

Layton: Alright.

Farley: Would you remember the organizational structure of OP-20-G, or whatever it was called then when you joined it?

Layton: Well, I joined it in '36.

Farley: Yes, Sir.

Layton: Well, after I had been to sea. I'm out to sea now.

Farley: Oh, pardon. (B% Pardon.)

Layton: I went to sea on the flagship—and, of course, made Intelligence Officer of the flagship. There was a requirement, Navy regulations, that whenever a foreign man-of-war came into the port, the commander in chief would send a boarding officer who would go over. And he would ask some simple questions: where they came from, and how long it took them, and when they were going to leave, and where were they were going, and what were they doing.

And right after I was aboard, in came one of their tankers. I think it was the (B% *Aribo* OR *Arimo* OR *Caraboi*). So I went over to call on the commanding officer of the *Aribo*, which I did, and got the information that they left Yokosuka, Yokohama, or Tokuyama—wherever it was ((TR NOTE: Missing digitized audio begins here)); what day they arrived, that they would leave on so-and-so day, that they took on so many thousands of gallons of fuel oil; and they would return to Tokuyama in the morning. And I would get the roster of officers. ((Laughter heard.))

((TR NOTE: Digitized audio resumes here.)) Well, this got to be a routine thing and everybody knew I did it. Of course, I did it for the CinC of the flagship. That was Admiral Sellers at that time, to my recollection. And it got to be routine for me then. Well, Sellers was relieved by Admiral Reeves—known affectionately as "Goat" Reeves. And his Assistant Operations Officer was Joe Rochefort. Now, Admiral Sellers' Operations Officer was H. H. Frost, who wrote the *Battle of Jutland.*

Farley: Hmm.

Layton: And which I had read. And it talked about communications intelligence for the first time. It was said that the Admiralty had information that (XG) for Jutland. ((He then corrects his pronunciation, by saying "joot-land" rather than "jut-land", as follows:)) "Jutland", I should say. And other actions. (B% It was not clear what was done.) But in Jutland, it was clear to Frost that they had messed it up by trying to have controlled information and intelligence from the Admiralty and sending out directives of what to do. And Frost says, "This was wrong by command. You cannot command by directing them what to do. You must give the commander out in the field the material that you have in intelligence on and let him act intelligently on it. Which they did not do on and before December 7th, 1941. ((Spoken as "Nineteen Hundred and Forty-one".)) Which is one of the things I'm going to write in my book.

Anyway, this intrigued me more because Frost could tell me more by discussions when we were on the ship and sitting down in the ward room while we were at sea. And he knew I was interested in this. And Frost was a very nice guy in that if he thought you were interested in what he was interested in, then you were a good guy. And since he was interested in this whole subject of naval warfare and radio intelligence—(B% how it was produced); (2-3G) showed directly in his book—he talked to me more than I think he would talk to a lot of other people. And he went on to indicate to me that…what he got from sources he couldn't print. That the Admiralty had a lot more intelligence than they had given to Jellicoe or to (B% Bayview). And that the whole thing was mixed up by the Admiralty—and that therefore Jellicoe (John Jellicoe) was guilty of the most flagrant command decisions (B% in error).

This intrigued me. Then came Admiral "Goat" Reeves and Joe Rochefort. Joe said, "You're going to be the boarding officer for Admiral Reeves, too." ((Chuckling heard.)) And so, I did. But one day, I had the 4-to-8 watch. And the boarding call was to be made right after 8 o'clock. I had been up (B% the night. I said, "I just can't make the boarding call. I'm too tired. Besides, my battery has to be checked out today." We were firing some practice. So Joe, against his own wishes, made the boarding call.

And that afternoon, he sent for me. No…Yeah, that afternoon…That evening he sent for me and said, "We got an undercover job we want done. Our Naval intelligence guy ashore—(B% Dr. Coggins) at the dispensary at Long Beach—has, through his contacts, discovered that the Japanese are going to take a motion picture machine from the…" We'll say it's the *Aribo*. I've forgotten the name of it—there are other tankers besides the *Aribo*.

"And the film…And they're going to have a meeting at the Shell Auditorium in Signal Hill, where the Japanese Resident Society, a patriotic group… And we want you to go in there and see what goes on." Now, I'm not going to tell you how to do it. Just go and see Dr. Coggins. And we'll do anything we can."

So I went to see Dr. Coggins. And, oh, Joe did say, "Don't shave tomorrow. Don't shave anymore. Just let your beard grow." ((Chuckling heard.)) I let it grow. I washed and had not shaved yet. Dr. Coggins said, "Well, I don't know what we'll do. We'll go out to Signal Hill and just see what's going on." Out on Signal Hill, we talked to the man who's in charge of security. It's mostly fire hazards, physical security—and not about espionage or anything, or sabotage. This was, you know, security.

And he says, "Well, I don't know." He says, "But I think there's a rule in our auditorium"…You see, this is not even in an enclosed motion picture booth, and therefore it would have to be a portable machine (1-2G). "I think we have to check with the insurance on that. (1-2G) (B% I'd like an) insurance agent to check on it," (B% right). So (2-3G)…He fixed me up some phony papers. Since he had security, he had some letterhead stuff. That I was a "representative of the North American Mutual Casualty Company—Fire and Casualty. And I would have to be there to see no fire took place." ((Laughter heard.)) And "I kept enforcing the 'no smoking' ban" and a few other things. Well, that I did. I also had two of these CO2…Not CO2. What do they call them?

Farley: Fire extinguishers?

Layton: Fire extinguishers, but they're acid foam—acid foam extinguishers, where you turn them over and they go "brrp". I had them (B% sitting) there and claimed that that's why I had to be there. Of course, the representative of this group was the Vice Consul. But I "didn't know" any Japanese at all, and I…I'm (3-4G). He spoke to me once in Japanese, and I said, "Huh? I don't speak that language. I don't speak any of that (B% baby) stuff." ((Laughter heard.)) And so, I stayed on for the thing. ((TR NOTE: *ET 01:00:19, where digitized audio resumes play at normal speed.))

But during an intermission…I had to explain while I was there all this…During the intermission ((he laughs)), one of these dumb, two left-footed seamen from the *Aribo* who (2-3G) motion picture…was operating the machine: he come over and looked at these acid foam fire extinguishers. And, of course, he turned one upside down, the bastard. ((Laughter heard.)) And it went all over. I had to clean that up. And, of course, this was on the dance floor. And it took all the wax off and everything else. I had to make them help me, too. You know, I raised hell. I had to…It was hard to raise hell only in English—and not to yell at him in Japanese. But I did it.

I should say that Dr. Coggins and a Naval intelligence agent, whose name is unknown and I don't care to remember it, (1-2G). That, in the meantime, were writing down the numbers of…all the license plates of all the cars that had parked there, who had come to attend that. So it gave them a good list of the people who had attended, courtesy of the California Highway Patrol. ((Chuckling heard.))

At the end of this, I was still telling this Vice Consul, who spoke good English: "What a god damned bunch of dirty bastards they are. All this thing that caused me…I'd lose my job. Look at that—all this wax had been taken off the floor. And they'd complain to the insurance company since I was their representative there." And to make a long story short, the Vice Consul finally gave me five dollars (B% at the end of the day to pay) for my pain. So Dr. Coggins and the Naval intelligence agent and myself, at the end of this thing, went down to a speakeasy in Long Beach and drank up five dollars' worth of gin slings. ((Laughter heard.))

Farley: Great, great. Was the *Pennsylvania* in port then?

Layton: Yeah.

Farley: I see. So Rochefort was…? What was his position? Was he (B% Exec)?

Layton: Assistant Operations Officer on the staff.

Farley: ((He acknowledges.))

Layton: But his real job was also intelligence. But he did work out all schedules of operations.

Farley: I'm surprised that he got involved in that counterintelligence. Was it "across-the-board" intelligence that he was involved in?

Layton: No. You see, the intelligence officer of the fleet is responsible both for positive intelligence and negative intelligence—both of them. And this is why you have ashore a district intelligence organization which carries out the counterintelligence functions. This is why you, as the Fleet Intelligence Officer, have to carry out the positive intelligence aspects that affect the Fleet in its operation.

At that time also in the Navy, we had a lot of people who had come aboard during visiting hours on Saturdays and Sundays and holidays, and stuffed subversive material around the various compartments urging the sailors to go on strike and to desert and to do anything else. It was a part of a…subversive elements trying to disrupt Fleet morale and to reduce Fleet effectiveness.

Farley: I see.

Layton: And our job was to also stop that. You depend on the shore establishment to warn you of these things. And then you…aboard the ship, you take the positive action yourself: Like setting a certain number of sailors on patrol. And when you found one person doing this, you merely took him up 'cause you couldn't do anything. You couldn't arrest him. ((TR NOTE: Brief pause detected here; perhaps a stop in the recording.)) Change reels, (B% no)?

Farley: No, it flipped. I don't know why it flipped, but let's keep going. ((HE pauses.)) Alright. Sir, had you committed yourself to a career in intelligence by this time?

Layton: No. I think after I'd gone to Signal Hill, I think I had. But it was only because Joe was a very good friend of mine, and he wanted my help. He said he couldn't go 'cause he had been exposed that morning to the *Aribo,* and they recognized him.

Farley: What was the attitude of the senior Navy officers toward anybody who might be interested in a career in intelligence?

Layton: I don't know. All I know is it was well known that if you took a career in intelligence, you were dead professionally. You'd never get promoted beyond commander or captain. You were lucky you get to captain.

Farley: They tried to discourage you, then, right?

Layton: No, no one discouraged you. It was…The discouragement was indirect, in that "rumor had it that's the way it was." And if anybody mentioned (B% it's hard, you'd say), "Well, those bunch of cookie pushers that go to the embassies and have tea and…" That's not the way to do things…

Farley: Right.

Layton: If you want to go ahead in the Navy

Farley: Right. Sir, later on, I don't know whether it was this same time period, aboard the *Pennsy,* Rochefort again asked you to do some spy work. (3-4B)…

Layton: That was a couple of years later.

Farley: Oh. was it? Well, is…?

Layton: I think (B% it was the) next year.

Farley: Is there anything else we should talk about in the earlier two years?

Layton: No, I don't think so.

Farley: Alright, Sir. You want to talk about the…?

Layton: (B% In this)…See, we were en route to San Francisco to take part in a Fleet exercise, Fleet maneuver. And our force was to…One thing the *Pennsylvania* was to do was to go into dry dock at Hunter's Point. And that was not a Navy shipyard then. That was a private shipyard. We were to go in there and go and get dry dock. And then get out and move out with the Fleet within about six days. That was a part of the maneuver to prove that we could go into civilian dry dock and could have emergency repairs done. We were supposed to be hit with a torpedo.

En route to San Francisco, and as we were coming in the Golden Gate, I came off watch. And there was Joe, waiting for me. He said, "I want to talk to you." So we went in the (B% war OR board) room and had a cup of coffee. And he said, "The Commander in Chief has been informed that there is a spy up in Dutch Harbor. He got up there. We couldn't stop him. We know he's up there to get information on the Fleet—its maneuvers, its personnel, and the rest of it. And to report back to Japan on all this. The Commander in Chief wants you to take him out." I says, "Take him out?" He says, "Yeah, take care of it." I says, "What do you mean?" He says, "I'll leave it up to you. We don't want him reporting." And he said, "Let's go back and see Admiral Reeves."

So I went back. And Admiral Reeves said, "Oh, yes." After Rochefort introduced us, he repeated what Rochefort had said: "I want you to remove him from the scene. We don't want him reporting on our maneuvers and the numbers of ships and so forth." And I didn't ask any questions 'cause I had learned by that time that asking questions won't "learn" you anything.

So I went up by train that night. Got to Bremerton to get on the *Brazos* by 4 the next morning 'cause she was sailing at 5—and no ferry got there before 5. I got on board the *Brazos* the night before, and sailed with her. And stood watch with the rest of them going up there. They were glad to have another watch stander.

When I got there, I wasn't really sure what I was going to do. But I asked if I could have the mail orderly, who was going to take me...I was going ashore on the first boat with the mail orderly. And I asked if the mail orderly could wait 'cause I didn't think it would take too long. I just wanted to find out what I could do.

Before I had left, however—I forgot this—Joe had said, "You might talk to Lieutenant Commander Lockhart. He's a meteorologist on the staff. I know him. Bob Lockhart." "Does Bob know?" Anyway, "he can give you some information (B% 'cause) he was up in Dutch Harbor with the weather station up there for a couple of years. He knows the area, and he might know some people." He said, yes, he did know some people. He knew the postmaster, who was also the federal judge. He knew Mr. Peddler, who was the President of the AC Company—the Alaska Commercial Company, the biggest company there. It's the only one. And he said, "Well, you know those people. They'll know other people you might want to meet." He said, "But Mr. So-and-so, who is the postmaster and the federal judge," he said, "he's the most important." He gave me a letter to him—and a letter to Mr. Peddler, too.

So I thought, "Well, the first thing I'll do is go see the postmaster." And it was pretty interesting. He had a little post box there and a little window. I went up there and I said, "Are you Mr. So-and-so?" "Yes." I said, "I have a letter for you, a letter of introduction." I gave it to him and he read it. He said, "Oh, I see here. Well I guess we better go into my chambers." So he pulled down the thing that says "Closed" there when you pulled this curtain down. And then, out this door and then into another door. And put a sign out there: "Open." This said: "Federal Judge, District of Alaska." Yeah: "District of Alaska, Aleutians."

He said, "Well, what's your problem?" And I said, "Well..." The letter was...incidentally was enclosed with a letter from the Commander in Chief ,saying who I was and he'd sent me up on this special mission which I would tell him about. And I said, "Well, the Commander in Chief says there's a Japanese spy here. We're getting (B% ready for) Naval maneuvers—and the Commander in Chief doesn't want that spy around free to be able to report. Wants to see whether there's some way we can take care of it." He says, "Well, I think you'll have to go see the Federal Marshal." The Federal Marshal is a graduate...He told me his name, which I don't mention either. I went to see the Federal Marshal. He is half Aleut, graduated the University of Seattle, married to an Aleut. There's a cottage up there at the end of the street of the town of Illilliuk, and it was a nice clean office. It was also the jail. And I explained my problem.

And he says, "Well, yes, there is one Jap here. He goes by the name of (B% "Saito"), I think it is." And he said, "I've heard that he's peddling bootleg." And he says, "You go down and buy some bootleg from him and bring it in and swear that it's bootleg and it's contrary to the Federal Act here. It's not packaged. And I'll throw him in the hoosegow." And I said, "Fine." So I went down and bought the bottle of booze. Took a drink of it. It was almost like shellac.

Went up to the Federal Marshal and said, "This man down here, name of Saito, has sold me this booze. It's illegal. And I require that you arrest him." He says, "I will." So he went down there. He marched up and arrested the guy, and took him down to the judge. And the judge closed the post office window, and opened the other one: "Court's open." I testified, and they asked Saito how he pleaded. He pled guilty, so they sentenced him to 30 days and a hundred dollars, I think. So the Marshal took him back to jail.

Well, I was ready to leave, and the Marshal said, "You know, just something occurred to me." He said, "You know, he's been hanging around with the town whore. She might be set up to be his assistant in this matter." I said, "Well, there's a mail orderly down here on the boat, and maybe I can get him." So I went down and got the mail orderly, and told him there was a chance to get a piece of tail. And I gave him the two dollars 'cause he didn't have any money. So I gave him the two dollars. He went and got the...I'll call her "Hat Rack". ((Chuckling heard.)) But he came out and said, yes, he'd had sexual intercourse with her.

So the judge went and arrested her for, oh, probably conduct...No, disorderly conduct, that's right. Gave her, I think it was, thirty days. Maybe twenty days. They were put...She was put in a woman's cell up in the Marshal's house, and his wife became the lady jailer. And she got the lady jailer and...You know, cried about her hard times and all this stuff.

And she'd been mistreated. And she's always…Like all whores, you know, you got the wrong end of the stick. But would the lady jailer understand these things? Oh, yes, she would. Would she pass a note to her boyfriend? Oh, yes, she would. So she passed a note. Of course, he didn't get it. We got it. And it just went on to say she was sorry about this, and called him all kind of names for getting her in this trouble.

Then he, having got this note through the jailer's wife…Didn't know it was his wife, though. Then he asked if she could get a letter out for him. She allowed as how under certain circumstances she could, but she didn't want to do this right away because of the risk. Well, he had some money. Anyway, he passed a letter to get out to get mailed. And he let me know. I was back on the ship by this time. When I came up…I think this was about two days later. And I read the letter. It was to a Japanese commercial firm in Seattle, saying he was sorry that he had fallen into trouble. He was in jail. And that it was just bad luck; it was bad circumstances.

So after the Fleet left and the thing…Oh, yes, when it was all over with—when he was in jail and so forth—I sent one message back to the Commander in Chief/flagship from the destroyer I was on then. They attached me to a destroyer, which was told to wait there for me. Just saying, "Mission accomplished."

While I was on the destroyer, the State Department back there had had requests from the Japanese Department of Fisheries to send the fishery inspection ship, the Akwio Maru, into the Aleutians to check on fishing conditions and so forth. The State Department finally got smart—aided and abetted by the Navy Department—and said, "Yes, they could agree to this." They would do it on the same conditions of entry as was given the United States Army Around-the-World Fliers in 1923 when they went through the Kurile Islands.

Same conditions to require to wit: that when that ship entered American waters, it would be boarded by a representative of the U.S. Navy. In that case, it was the Japanese Navy. And it would be as long as that ship was in American waters, that representative would remain on board. and when they departed from American waters, that officer would then leave and re-board his destroyer, which would then accompany that ship for safety purposes. And when they re-entered American waters, he would re-board them.

We waited there from…Now, this was April, I think. It could have been March. I've forgotten the time. We stayed there until Memorial Day because the Japanese never agreed to this. And, finally, they cancelled. And when they cancelled on Memorial Day, we left there for San Diego. And got down just about the same time the *Pennsylvania* got back from maneuvers. Matter of fact, they were already back when we got down. So this, again, was another intelligence job, but I was looking forward to that.

Farley: Yeah. How come Rochefort always called upon you? He just liked your talent…?

Layton: I was there.

Farley: Oh, I see.

Layton: I was there, and we were friends, and he trusted me.

Farley: Were you subordinate to him?

Layton: Oh, yes.

Farley: Was he in the class before you?

Layton: He was not Naval Academy.

Farley: Oh, I'm sorry.

Layton: He came in, in World War I as a [sic] (B% extemporary) officer. Actually I believe he didn't tell me this, but I read since that he enlisted as an enlisted man in World War I. And went to Officer Candidate School and came out as an ensign.

Farley: I see.

Layton: And then he served. And he was one of those…a good many officers…or I'll say a sizeable group who, like they did at the end of World War II, reserve officers who converted into the regular Navy.

Farley: I see.

Layton: He converted to regular Navy at the end of World War I.

Farley: Mm hmm.

Layton: I never talked to him much about it except when I knew he had a command of a mine sweeper and I think a tug in San Pedro.

Farley: Yeah, later on, ah huh.

Layton: Then he was executive officer of a destroyer when I was in destroyers, but I did not see him at that time. But he was Executive Officer of one of the destroyers in Squadron 12, of which I was in 1925 to 1929. I don't know exactly when he was there. I think it was '27 or '(2)8.

Farley: Were you involved at all in the collection of intelligence against the Japanese maneuvers…fleet maneuvers?

Layton: No.

Farley: None at all, huh?

Layton: No.

Farley: Okay.

Layton: We ((he pauses))…Whatever we did, I didn't know about it.

Farley: Alright, Sir. ((He chuckles.)) Sir, we're back in Washington now after three years on the *Pennsy*?

Layton: That was when Zacharias was the head of the Far East Section. And I had written to him, asking to go as the Assistant Naval Attaché to Tokyo for my next assignment. He had written me and said, sorry, he couldn't do it. They had already selected an officer who was senior to me and who they wanted to be there as Assistant Naval Attaché.

And when I reported in, he said that he was still sorry that I didn't get what I wanted. But he was assigning me now to…It was OP-20-GZ that I was assigned to. And it was in 1936. And Thomas R. Birtley, who had been a…He's now dead. Tom Birtley, who also had been in Japan as a language officer and who also had been married at that time…

Farley: Oh, yeah.

Layton: And he had done some cryptographic puzzle work for the puzzle boys, and that was why he was sent out also. Of course, he was not a Rochefort by a long way. Birtley had the job in ((OP-20-))GZ. And we were then working on the Blue Code, which was then…I believe they called it…superseded, but I believe it continued on in use. I don't know for sure now. Continued on in use with a new encipherment. I don't know the details…

Farley: (B% Sure, certainly.)

Layton: Because I never went into it. That was not my business, and I don't go into business that isn't mine. ((Laughter heard.)) But my work then was from June on through February of the next year in code recovery. And in that, I discovered that in this Blue Code—it was a four-Kana code—that the sections they had for geographic areas on the Mandated Islands were all bitched up. What they thought was Truk was something else 'cause it just didn't work out to be Truk. What they worked out to be Saipan was Saipan. But what was worked out to be Tinian, wasn't Tinian. And a whole flock of these things finally came to my knowledge as being absolutely wrong. They wouldn't fit. In other words, the message wouldn't fit.

So I then told Skinny Wenger ((Joseph Wenger)), who was in charge. He was OP-20-G ((he pause))…Yep. ((He pauses.)) Ham Wright was in ((OP-20-))GX, breaking…or ((OP-20-))GY, whichever it was. But I told Skinny that I'd have to stop work on what I was doing, and get this thing straightened out. And I showed him, by actual example, where it was bitched up and not why—because I didn't know.

So he said that would be a good idea. After all, no sense of identifying Truk when it isn't Truk. And we were working also on the previous Japanese Fleet maneuvers from their messages. Reconstructing all the messages and everything. And so, when you couldn't get the ship going from Truk to somewhere when it hadn't been in Truk…Well, to make a long story short, I did it. And the one that solved the whole problem was ((he pauses))…Turn it off. Let me think about it.

Farley: ((He chuckles.)) Alright, Sir.

Layton: (B% I should)…((Recording stops. When it resumes, Admiral Layton is speaking, as follows:)) Oh, hell!

Farley: That's alright. You'll think of it later (B% possibly OR probably).

Layton: (B% Though) it became a famous island later on in World War II. And since it had a repetitive, like: "appa lappa, appa lappa", that had to be repeated. And in the repeating this and doing it in Kana spelling, they spelled out what the island was. And it wasn't where it was supposed to be. It became a part of (B% Ulithi)

Farley: Okay.

Layton: And that…The island became the officers' recreation island in World War II. Mm hmm, that's something ((laughter heard))… (B% Mogmog!)

Farley: Mog…? ((He chuckles.))

Layton: M-O-G-M-O-G. Mogmog was the island.

Farley: (B% Great, great.) ((He chuckles.))

Layton: And this was the island of Mog…Mogu Mogu. And since it's distinctive…Because the "ku" isn't a "ku"—it's a "gu." It's a "ku" with a…What do they call it? A nigori—a dirty sign. That had to be it. Well, that, then, reoriented these things one to the other. And then, as you got reoriented and worked on it more, you could get others. One breaks for another and then another breaks for another. And you get Helen Reef, (B% and there's a) Ulithi in there. (1-2G) Eaukosol Passage off Palau. And, oh, any number of these. The result was, I then had made a complete study for about three months of all the islands in the Mandated. I knew them by name, one by one. And they were like my friends. About this time, I was detached and (1-2G) out as a Naval Attaché in Tokyo. ((TR NOTE: Audio ends at this point.))

//**End of transcript**//